5 Anonymous U-4, 5 (no date) 1940
NT14 Plateau Yumans NT14
Havasupai

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THE HAVASUPAI and THE HUALAPAI

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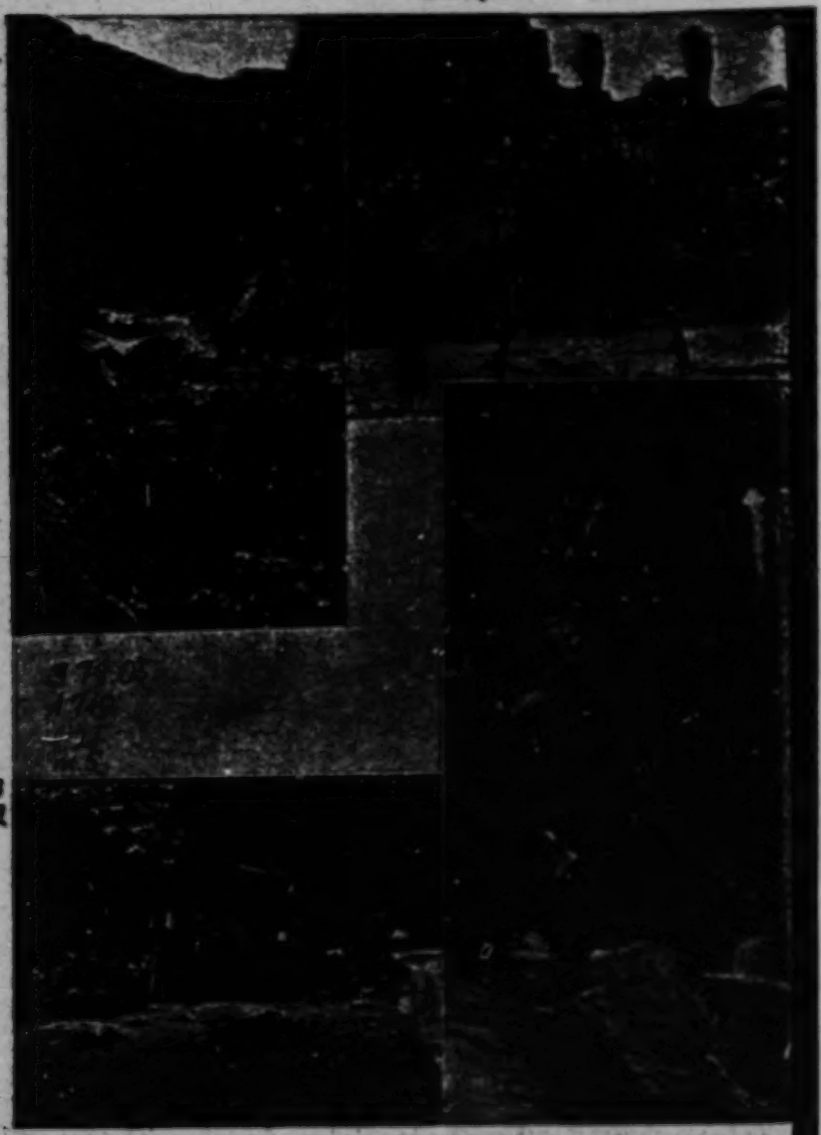

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Above are scenes from Havasu Canyon, isolated canyon tributary of Grand Canyon and home of the Havasupai Indians. Top left shows Cremation Knoll in the lower "basement" section of the canyon, where the dead were cremated in the early days. Top right shows the Twin Falls opposite Supai village. Bottom left is a Havasupai Indian and bottom right is a beautiful little waterfall in Lower Mooney Falls.

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Foreword

AGAIN it is my pleasure to present in the name of the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff a bulletin on certain Arizona Indian tribes, a bulletin designed to be of aid and interest to teachers and laymen alike. Like the preceding bulletins, it is written in non-technical language and brings together in compact form a simple statement of life in the beautiful Cataract Canyon, several thousands of feet below the land above, a Canyon unknown to the casual visitor at the Grand Canyon, and of life on the almost million acre reservation of the Hualapai.

The material was gathered through personal contact on the Reservations, verified by documentation, and carefully checked by experts.

The material was prepared by the Arizona Writers Project. Grateful acknowledgement is made to Mr. Ross Santee, Director, for making the material available. Acknowledgement is likewise made to his assistants and particularly to Mrs. Frances Sanita for her very careful work in preparing the material.

Special acknowledgement is given Mr. Alfred Whiting of the Museum of Northern Arizona for his helpful criticism of the Havasupai material.

Thomas J. Tormey, President

The Havasupai

IN Cataract Canyon, within the boundaries of the Grand Canyon National Park, nearly three thousand feet below the land above, live the Havasupai Indians. Hemmed in by towering walls of red sandstone the acreage of their reservation is very small but its fertility, spectacular scenery, and unusual setting as a habitation for man ranks it as one of the most remarkable places in Arizona. 131

The original reservation of 1880 was a tract of land about five miles wide and twelve long surrounding the inhabited part of Cataract Canyon. Two years later the size was reduced to the irregular strip of canyon bottom land extending a mile and a half north and south of the Indian settlement, an area of 518.6 acres. The population is also small. The Indian Bureau census of 1929 shows two hundred thirteen members, a slight increase in recent years. The tribe has probably never numbered more than three hundred. 161 [171]

Cataract Canyon is almost semi-tropical. The high plateaus of the surrounding country have a temperate climate but the village, shut in as it is, averages from ten to twelve degrees warmer the year round. In summer it is very hot, the temperature often reaching one hundred and twelve degrees. 132

Through the canyon's gorge runs Cataract Creek which plunges over precipitous cliffs forming several beautiful waterfalls. Mooney Falls, the largest is nearly two hundred feet high. Passing through miles of limestone formations the water is heavily impregnated with calcium and magnesium carbonates, calcium sulphate, and magnesium chlorids. These mineral salts in solution over a period of time, coat everything they touch with a stony deposit and impart a light tinge to the water which imparts a light blue or greenish blue to the creek. Where the water gathers in pools at the foot of the falls, it is a fascinating turquoise color. 133 158

Taking their name from the water of the creek, these Indians have become known as the blue-water people (Havasu, blue or green water; pai, people). 101

The Havasupai speak a language of the Yuman stock, and are closely allied to the Hualapai their near neighbors on the west. They speak a similar language, having a slight variation of dialect. Hualapai, Havasupai, and Yavapai are dialects of a single language which is closely related to Mohave and Yuman. 197

HISTORY

Archaeologists have believed the Havasupai formerly built and occupied villages of a permanent character on the Colorado to the east of the San Francisco Mountains where ruins may be found today. As a result of war with other tribes they abandoned these villages and took refuge in the San Francisco mountains subsequently leaving these for their present home. In Cataract Canyon they found plenty of water, a mild climate, and protection from the raids of more powerful tribes. Recent evidence would seem to show that this is not correct, although the information here given is to be found in Hodge, Handbook of American Indians. 174 [197]

The first written record of the Havasupai dates from 1776 when Padre Francisco Garces, a Spanish mission priest, stopped there. There was little contact of the tribe with the Americans for the next hundred years, except for an occasional visit of trappers, prospectors, and exploring parties. 175

For several years following the establishment of the reservation 173 048

boundary in 1882 the Government took no active interest in the Havasupai. In 1882 a government farmer was sent to instruct them in better methods of farming and the use of metal implements.

For many years the Havasupai have carried on an inter-tribal trade with the Navaho and Hopi, obtaining blankets, wool, and silver work in exchange for dressed skins, and agricultural products. The Hualapai on the west trade many of their raw deer hides to the Havasupai in exchange for the Navaho and Hopi goods in addition to fruit and vegetables.

ECONOMICS

The present Havasupai food supply is based principally on agricultural products and meat. Corn, beans, and squash are the staples, supplemented by onions, tomatoes, melons, and other garden vegetables. Beans are of two kinds, navy and pinto—the latter a red speckled bean. The fruit crops are peaches, nectarines, apricots, and figs. Peaches are said to have been introduced by John D. Lee, a Mormon, who lived as a fugitive among these people for several years following 1857. Most in the early days was obtained by hunting, but today most of it is from their herds of range cattle.

The economic unit is the household, usually consisting of parents, children, and unattached close relatives. These small groups are closely bound into large ones by kinship ties. This grouping is based on or at least correlated, with the inheritance of land on the one hand and the temporary matrilocal residence on the other. Sometimes several generations of these people live close together and work together, but each married couple and the property are regarded as a distinct unit. Some young couples build a house soon after they marry, but it is customary for them to live with the wife's parents until they have a house of their own.

Property descends through the male line. If a man dies his effects do not descend to his wife but to his sons. The sons may hold land or stock undivided for years until they have families of their own whose diverse interests make division necessary. The widow and unmarried daughters do share in the use of the land; but they cannot lay claim to it, since the widow's relatives and the daughter's children never inherit it from them. If a widow hastily re-marries, her "use" interest is lost, reverting to the other heirs. Should there be no direct heirs, the property goes to the dead man's brothers or their male descendants.

When not living out of the canyon in the winter, the Indians live in a section of the canyon not much more than a mile in length. Ownership of the arable land is communal. Every family has a piece of land, which is recognized as belonging to it by the rest of the tribe. By established custom the land is inherited and may be sold to a fellow tribesman. One peculiar condition that caused some trouble in the past was the ownership by one Havasupai of fruit trees growing on the lands in possession of another, brought about, it was reported, by certain complications in inheritance.

A short distance above Supai village Walapai Canyon branches off to the west. In the upper end is grazed a herd of individually owned cattle. The men visit the herd occasionally to bring in a beef to the settlement. The meat of the animal is sold or traded and is eaten in a day or two, there being no means of keeping meat other than as jerky.

Horses and cattle are owned and herded by the men alone. The men are also the owners of the house and land on which it stands. Property, such as a man's tools, buckskins, weapons, saddle, and perhaps a charm and a mask; a woman's field tools, baskets, cooking uten-

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skis, and blankets is owned individually. Each one can dispose of his possessions independently. 422

The Havasupai is an excellent horseman and packer. He usually has quite a number of horses and does considerable packing on the trail with them. Traveling up and down the steep winding trail to the top of the canyon is very strenous work for the horses and the Indian must have a sufficient number of them so as to rest each horse for a few days after one of the trips. 492

When first visited by the white man these people dug holes with stone hoes, planted their seeds, but did little cultivating. Only a small acreage was planted, this being irrigated from small ditches running from dams of rock, logs, and willows piled in the river. Methods of farming are still simple. The ground is first plowed and then cultivation is done with a hoe; some rotation of crops is practised from year to year. Irrigation ditches now serve over a hundred acres of land. 241 [315]

The Havasupai are among the most conscientious farmers in the Southwest. Their interest centers so firmly in their fields that when remunerative employment is to be had at Grand Canyon the men will leave the work with semi-monthly pay to plant and tend their crops. Planting begins in the middle of April, but previously the fields are cleared of weeds and brush, plowed with a one horse walking plow, and irrigated two or three days before planting. [340]

The tools used are a planting stick about an inch wide and a foot and a half long with one end cut wedge-shaped, and a modern hoe with a blade at an angle to the handle. Formerly a wooden spade-shaped hoe with an extra long handle was used; also, the shoulder blade of a horse was held in the hands and used to scrape the sand out of irrigating ditches and for scraping out weeds. 241 412 [437]

Planting is an occupation that most of the family takes part in; even the small children help dig holes. The corn is not planted deep, about three and one-half inches is the usual depth. The lines for the rows of hills are generally drawn with the foot. Kneeling, the first hole is dug with the planting stick; the soil is loosened, and eight or ten seeds dropped in. However, before putting the kernels in the first hole the planter says a prayer. Filling the hole, he takes two or three short steps forward, kneels, digs a second hole, and plants. This he continues until the field is planted. 241

The planting is not all done at one time but extends over a period of two months. Beans are planted on the same day as corn and placed half way between the corn hills. Both crops ripen about the same time.

When the young corn shoots are about two inches above the ground, they are given a second watering. When the tassels appear, about two and a half months after planting, the corn receives a third and last watering. The fields are weeded at regular intervals and traps are placed for rodents which would otherwise destroy a portion of the crops.

The Havasupai plant a small variety of corn, with ears about six inches long, known as Mohave corn, which will yield ears in about two months. Other varieties ripen at intervals from mid-August until the last of September. When the ears are ripe, they are gathered in burden baskets. The gatherer breaks off the ears and throws them in the basket on his back while he walks along. The corn is dried on the roofs or on brush heaps. It may be placed in the storage chambers either in the form of husked ears or shelled and piled in a corner. Seed corn is always husked and heaped in a separate pile in a corner. Watermelon, pumpkin, sunflower, and squash seeds are dried, put in cloth sacks and stored in the storage chambers. Beans and corn ripen at the same time and those beans not eaten green are dried and stored in stone chambers for winter use. [37] 251

The Havasupai have innumerable ways of preparing corn. Only 252

few are given here. Green corn is usually shelled or cut from the cob and mashed to a pulp on the grinding stone. Water is heated to almost boiling, the corn slowly added, and the mixture stirred with a stick while the pot remains on the fire. When it comes to a boil, it is set aside to cool. Green corn in the husks is roasted on a bed of coals or buried in hot ashes until the outer husks are charred. The husks are then pulled back and the ears tied in pairs by their husks and hung up until some relatives or friends come calling. The usual way of eating corn on the ear is to break off the kernels with the thumb nail, grabbing them in the palm of the same hand. A handful is poured into the mouth at a time. Often the pulp of green corn is shaped into balls, wrapped in husks, and baked in hot embers. When the husks are removed the balls are eaten as bread. Green corn is sometimes cut from the cob, crushed, and boiled with unripe pumpkin cut in small pieces. A favorite sweet dish is made by boiling squash blossoms until tender, then mashing them to a pulp on the grinding stones. Meanwhile green corn, cut from the cob, is cooking in a pot over a slow fire. The pulp is added to the corn and boiled until thick.

Squash does not ripen until October. It is gathered in burden baskets, brought home and piled up. Later the rind is cut off and the seeds and center pulp scraped out. The flesh is cut out in strips and hung in the sun to dry. While still pliable it is made into bundles and dried thoroughly before it is stored for winter use. Squash prepared in this manner will keep indefinitely.

Fruit raised by the Havasupai is well known for its fine flavor. The women halve the ripe peaches and lay them out on the roofs or rocks to sun dry and then store them away for winter use. Figs are also dried. Some of the fruit is pounded on the metate, pressed into large cakes and cooked later.

Much of the beef and game is dressed and boiled while fresh, but some of it is dried to preserve it. The meat is cut in long thin pieces and hung to dry over a fire. It is generally necessary to parch this meat with a little water, if it is cooked and dried it is commonly stored with other supplies of dried food. Some flour also may be added to thicken the stew.

In addition to the cultivated crops, the Havasupai gather several wild plants which are a valuable adjunct to the food supply during the winter months on the plateau. The pinon nut forms an important part of their diet. In good years these nuts are gathered in large quantities during the fall and winter months by the women and children on the land high above the canyon. Some of the nuts are ground on the metate into a paste resembling peanut butter.

A drink is made of dried mesquite pods. The pods are crushed on the grinding slab, stirred into water, and the mixture allowed to stand several hours, after which the drink is ready for use. A variety of seeds—pigweed, goosefoot, and numerous others, are gathered and utilized in various ways. Some are roasted on parching trays and ground and the meal added to boiling water and made into mush. Pigweed leaves are boiled in salted water and eaten like spinach; sometimes corn meal is added.

The mescal (the agave plant) is considered at the right stage for eating when the flower stalk, which shoots out from the center of the plant, is a few inches high. The plant is severed by pounding a chisel-shaped buckthorn stick or stone axe against its base. The outer leaves of the inverted plant are trimmed of their green portion with a hatchet or butcher knife. A party of several families goes out and gathers mescal and brings it to the place where it is to be cooked. A pit which may vary in size but usually is about three feet in diameter and one and a half feet deep is dug in sandy soil, not in gravel because the steam would escape. Wood and brush are piled into the hollow to the height of a foot or more above the ground. Stones the size of a man's

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fist are spread over this to a depth of about five inches. A fire is then built and allowed to burn until the wood is nearly consumed and the stones are red hot. Several men pound on the pile to reduce it to about ten inches below the surface of the ground. The women have the mescal piled around the pit conveniently at hand. The pit is divided in sections among several families; when the mescal is put in it, some plants are placed on edge to mark these divisions; the others are packed in between. The mescal is covered with grass, canvas, or gunny sacks—and over the top a layer of wet sand is thrown. Forty-eight hours is the usual time required for roasting mescal. Occasionally some of it is dried and ground into a meal from which several dishes are prepared. 252

The fruit of the prickly pear cactus ripens in September and is gathered in great quantities. The fruit is broken off with tongs, rolled in the sand with a brush of twigs, and finally rubbed with a piece of cloth to remove the spines completely. Basketsful are carried home, the fruits opened and spread on arrow-weed mats to dry in the sun. 222 [251]

The fruit of the yucca ripens in September and is found in abundance on the land above the canyon. A layer of this is arranged on a bed of dry sticks, about three feet in diameter. The sticks are fired until the rind of the fruit is burned black, then it is removed, thrown into a pile, and sprinkled with water. The burned rind is removed and the seeds separated from the pulp. The pulp is spread to dry on a layer of grass or Mormon Tea sprigs. The dried yucca sheet is folded and stored. Pieces are broken off and eaten dry or they may be cooked. 222 252

The Havasupai women take pride in their hair, washing it weekly in a yucca suds—a soap substitute made from the roots of the narrow-leaved yucca pounded into a pulpy mass and dried. After being thus washed, the hair is soft and glossy. 515 [254]

The Havasupai house *(kawa)* cannot be classed as either a wickiup or hogan. Some are built of willow brush, conical shaped like a tepee; others are constructed like a tent with horizontal ridge pole at the top and a few are built with straight brush walls and a flat roof covered with dirt and thatch. Floors are of dirt and are not treated in any way. The loose sand and trash that accumulates is swept back from the center of the house against the walls and after a time the structure appears to cover a slight depression. Saddles, hides, and other possessions are pushed into corners. Many of the belongings are stored in paper cartons and lug boxes. The cooking is done on a wood burning stove or open fireplace in the middle of the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Living in their remote canyon where everything has to be packed in on horses over a steep winding trail, the Havasupai have few modern household goods. 369 [254] [255] [256]

At night, blankets or small thin mattresses are spread on the ground to provide beds. In the morning, all the bedding is rolled like a cowboy's bed roll and piled along the wall. A few families own modern beds, but the ground is generally used. Beds are usually placed with the head to the east; in this position the sleeper will be free from troublesome dreams, will rest well, and arise refreshed. 513 [177]

Some years ago the government built for the Havasupai a number of two-room frame cottages, but the Havasupai would not give up their old ways. They stored their farm tools, melons, squash, and other supplies in the frame houses and continued to live in thatched houses close by. Today most of these houses are occupied by the Indians at least a part of the year, but some claim the government built houses are too hot in summer and too cold in winter. 177 342 648

The construction of these houses probably has had something to do with the diminishing custom of storing surplus food supplies in cavities in the rock high up on the canyon wall. In olden times each family had its own storage chamber which was sealed up with rocks and mud 343 423

plaster. Marks were made on each meal so that the owner could readily identify it. These high storage chambers always kept the food supply safe from the fleas that rushed down the canyon at times. The summer climate in Cataract Canyon is very hot. The rock walls absorb the heat of the sun during the day and only a part of this stored heat is radiated during the night.

Most of the tribe live much of the time out-of-doors. The cooking is done over an open fire and the other household work is performed under trees and brush shelters. In winter the sun lingers only six or seven hours between the cliffs, impacting but little heat, and the nights and mornings are very cold. Because of this and lack of fuel, most of the tribe leave the canyon during the winter months and live on the plateau around the head of Topocoba Trail on the east. Here there is plenty of pine wood for fuel and good grazing for the horses. On the plateau, the house is a sort of hogan of logs and earth, more solid in construction than in the canyon.

In the summer most of the cooking is done out-of-doors and the meals are served there also. The cooking pots and pans, baskets of fruit, trays of bread, water bottles, and coffee pot are placed together on the ground. A large vessel containing ground rock salt always stands nearby, but very little is used, and practically none at all in the process of preparing food. The family groups itself about these, sitting on the ground or on boxes within easy reach of the main dish of the meal. Sometimes plates and spoons are used, but usually pieces of meat and vegetables are dished from the stove with the fingers, twigs, or knives, while much is scooped up with chunks of bread. Generally the women and children eat with the men, but when they are visiting male relatives or friends they usually wait until the men are through.

Cooking utensils are of the simplest kind—cheap tin kettles, lard cans, and tin buckets. Some characteristic Indian utensils are still in use. A shallow basket woven of willow splints, lined with a coating which may be red clay, stewed peaches or other sticky substance, is used for roasting pinon nuts and corn. Hot coals are put in the baskets and shaken around until the nuts or corn are parched.

The conical shoulder-hung basket is still in use for gathering vegetables and fruit. The *metate* stone for grinding wheat, corn, acorns, and pinon nuts is extensively used. The *metate* is a flat slab of hard stone (the *mano*) held in the hands. When not in use the *metate* is turned upside down with one edge resting on the *mano* to keep it off the ground. A brush made of mescal leaf fibre is used for cleaning the *metate*. Stone mortars, and pestles, are used for pounding dried meat, pinon nuts and corn, also.

The Havasupai have adopted the white man's mode of dress. The men wear overalls or corduroy trousers, blue cotton shirts, jumpers large cowboy hats, and boots or shoes. Their hair is cut short. The women wear long, wide-skirted dresses, which they make themselves, of calico and print in the brightest colors obtainable. Ten yards is the usual amount of material required to make a dress. The hair hangs down in long bangs over the forehead so it almost obscures the eyes. It is cut shoulder length in back. Their hair dressing is about the only thing distinctly Indian unless it is the brightly-colored handkerchief tied loosely about the shoulders. Shoes are of American manufacture, a high top, low heel lace shoe for the older women and oxfords for the girls and young women. Moccasins are sometimes worn by the older men and women. During the warm weather the women and children go barefoot around camp.

Formerly both men and women wore moccasins. The man's moccasin consisted of two pieces. The sole was made of the thickest part

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of the neck skin of the deer. The upper was a single piece of soft dressed skin, lapping at the outside of the foot, where it was fastened with a silver Navaho button. The woman's moccasin was a two-piece upper, a toe piece and a tongue in one, and long ankle flap which was worn around the ankle. The single tie string was wound over this and its loose end tucked under a fold. 291

Jewelry worn by the Havasupai is obtained in trade from the Navaho and Hopi or from the trader's stores at Grand Canyon. 301 439

Although the Havasupai relies mainly on his agricultural products, meat is a part of the diet the year round and especially during the winter. During the winter months rabbit drives are conducted by the men and boys. They drive in a straight course instead of drawing in a circle as several other tribes do. They claim their numbers are too few for a "surround". The rabbits are shot; never clubbed. Deer, antelope, mountain sheep, squirrels, and raccoons are also hunted. The hunt is still of economic importance as a supplementary source of food. Guns now are used in hunting instead of the traditional bow and arrow of former times. 212 224 [142] [177]

A man's work consists of house building or at least performing the heavy labor such as cutting and setting posts and beams, tending his fields, dressing hides, and looking after his range cattle and horses. 462

HANDICRAFTS

The Havasupai make basketry in two techniques, twining and coil-ing. Baskets are the most important domestic utensils and in each household may be found several burden baskets, food trays, and one or two water bottles. When not occupied with her other duties, the Havasupai woman is generally engaged in her craft. 225 [113] [147] [142]

The best material for making twined baskets is the sumac, generally gathered green. If gathered dry, or dried and stored, the twigs are either soaked in water or buried in wet soil two or three days before using. Cottonwood and willow are used. [124]

The leaves are stripped from the twigs by drawing them through the hand protected by a piece of cloth. The twigs are split in three parts, beginning at the tip, by using the teeth and both hands. Only the two outside strips are used, the inside being discarded. A knife is used to scrape the strips to uniform thickness. To begin weaving, two pairs of twigs are held so they cross at right angles at their midpoints. A weft strip is bound two or three times across the junction and the ends are woven alternately over and under the ribs. The weaving is in clock-wise direction, with the right side (the inside of parching trays and the outside of most other baskets) of the basket toward the weaver. After twining twice around the four ribs, another rib is inserted and caught into the twin stitch. The end of the twig is softened in water so that it can be drawn in tightly by the weft. The butt of the twig protrudes on the under side of the basket beyond the stitch by which it is held. As the weaving progresses new warps are inserted, always regularly spaced. As a rule baskets begin with diagonal twining, the weft crossing two warps at a time. Some begin with simple twining, the weft crossing single ribs, but soon change to diagonal weave. Diagonal twining is much more rapid. In either case the warps are inserted one at a time, but weft elements are twined in pairs, new strips are added singly.

To finish the edge of trays, burden baskets, or water bottles, the warp ends that protrude beyond the woven fabric are split and thinned, then bent to lie along the rim, and bound together with a stitch.

The burden baskets and water bottles are decorated with simple designs made by introducing different varieties of twining and with black from the Martynia or devil's claw. They have loops for carrying. The 295 445 521 [543]

285
515 water bottles are first coated with soap-weed paste colored red, and
537 then with pinon gum to make them water tight.

The real artistry of Havasupai basketry is seen in the coiled trays and bowls, made of twigs of cottonwood or the three-leaved sumac. In shape they vary from round or oval plaques, nearly flat but with slightly upturned margins, to baskets or bowls of cylindrical proportions. The material is prepared at leisure and made into bundles and stored. The bark is scraped from the twigs, the wood split and scraped to uniform width. When desired for use, the materials are soaked in water to make them flexible. The sewing is on a three rod foundation. The ends of three twigs are tied in a knot. One end of the sewing element is pulled under one rod near the knot. The rods are started in a spiral and the binder stitched around them into the middle of the knot. The stitches following those of the first coil are sewed into the knot also. The coils are so arranged that two rods lie along the completed coil with the third on top and between them. The stitch in the succeeding coils is meant to pass under the third rod, but in most cases it pierces this rod which the awl splits. Stitches are evenly spaced to pass between those of the previous coil, not to pierce them. After two coils are in place the end of the rods that protrude at the center are clipped off. Sewing is always from right to left; the free ends of the rods are held in place with the left hand while the right plies the awl. The sewing element is brought over the rod toward the worker and through the coil away from her.

There are two or three methods of finishing the rim of coiled baskets. Usually they are finished by cutting off three rods successively so that the coils will taper to an end. Some baskets are finished with a diagonal over and over stitch with two strands.

531 Simple geometrical figures, animals, and banded designs are made in the black outer side using the outer layer of the seed pod of devil's claw. Most baskets are of white background with black decorations, however, the reverse is sometimes found with baskets of black devil's claw background and white designs.

534 The Havasupai cradle board is an oval frame across which small twigs are laid except at the rounded ends. The frame is made of green branches which are bent, tied and buried in damp soil to set in shape.
536 The sticks that are laid across the frame are bound to it by a long strip of buckskin which passes once diagonally over the end of each cross stick. A piece of canvas or buckskin is laid along each side of the frame to cover the wrapping and is held in place by tie loops of buckskin, which are always four in number. Some cradles have carry-
537 ing straps or a woven Hopi or Navaho belt may be used for the carrying strap, fastened to the frame about one-third of the distance from the top. A hoop of wicker is tied to the frame in the open space at the top and to the upper cross sticks. Two stay straps extend from the center of the upper end of the frame to two points on the hoop. A blanket is usually spread over the hoop to protect the baby's face from the sun and wind and to save him from injury should the cradle board fall.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CUSTOMS

574 The Havasupai family in our sense is the social unit. There is no
614 clan or *gentes* system, nor are there any indications that they ever existed. Individuals recognize their affiliations with their immediate rel-
602 atives only; there are no other particular social or ceremonial groups.

The family groups are loosely bound into large ones by blood ties.
593 A group of sons reside in houses adjacent to the parent's home, together with the newly established families of the daughters of the house. The father and sons work their undivided fields with the assist-

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The father and sons work their individual fields with the assist- 598
ance of their wives; the new son-in-law works with his wife's family 591
until he breaks away to return to his father's house.

In the village there are probably fifty camps or family units. In 621
each household are usually found some unattached relatives of close 591
degree—widows, widowers or orphans. The orphans are cared for by 736
the relatives of either parent, seemingly without prejudice to the interests of the children of the relatives on the other side of the family.

A council of comparatively recent origin, settles most disputes and 624
the tribe acknowledges three chiefs: Manakaja, the old chief, Watch- [177
omidja, the Big Chief, and Big Jim, the Little Chief. Chieftainship is 623]
inherited, but there are also men who have become chiefs through 626
prestige and renown, or both. The principal duties of the chief are giving advice and admonitions. They tell their people how to act, especially the young men and women. The men are admonished to work hard, farm, dress skins, and hunt, while the women make baskets, cook, plant, and gather wild food. They are told not to be lazy, to take good care of their families, their fields, and their stock.

It is the duty of the chiefs to speak to the people on appropriate 624
occasions such as dances, gatherings to discuss important tribal matters, at death ceremonies, or informally at sweat lodges. The advice of the Big Chief seems to carry more weight than that of the others, in part because of his position, but largely because he is a stronger character. Personal qualifications are an important factor in chieftainship. A chief must be industrious, even tempered, and dignified; a man [154]
who does not display such qualities has little chance of becoming a chief.

Marriages are now monogamous, though polygamy once existed. 177
The only restriction is that blood relations may not marry. The young 578
people usually arrange their own marriages though parental consent 582
is sought. Gifts are still interchanged. 584

There is no taboo between a husband or wife and the parents-in- 601
law. A man may talk freely to his wife's parents or a woman may 606
talk freely to her husband's parents. However, neither husband nor wife address the parents-in-law by name. The wife has no relationship term to apply to them. She may use their names by way of reference. A woman when speaking to her husband may say *namadjidja*, your mother, *namadjitaika*, your father, or *hamagatum*, your parents. The word *ginyaga* is used by a man when referring to the parents of his wife, though not when talking to them.

Divorce in the early days was granted only on the grounds of un- 177
faithfulness, but today the Havasupai observe white man's laws gov- 584
erning marriage and divorce. A widow is expected to remain in 768
mourning six months or longer before she marries again, although 765
some marry in three or four months.

For about a month before the birth of baby the expectant mother 843
and her husband must observe numerous taboos. They must not eat 847
meat and the woman alone must not eat salty foods. During this time
she must use a stick to scratch herself. These restrictions are relaxed
a month after delivery. Failure to observe these rules will result in
complications at birth, it is believed.

There is no particular ceremony following the birth of a baby. 852
The infant is placed on the cradle board as soon as it is washed. The 854
old woman attendants mould the head, face, and limbs of the new born child lightly with the finger tips; point the chin, rub the bridge of the nose, and massage the gums. They do this every time the child is bathed. Babies are kept on the cradle board most of the time until they are able to walk. The Havasupai woman usually carries the cradle [845]
board in her arms rather than on her back.

Generally a child is named when it begins to play about and takes 553

553 an interest in things. Names are said to be given for some personal peculiarity or because of some occurrence. As a rule grandparents name the children and names are not family property, as is the case in some Indian tribes. Sometimes children are re-named when they reach maturity. It is common for men to be re-named in reference to their activities, but women are not. Havasupai names are told to strangers without much hesitation. Names have no special emotional or religious significance.

581 When a girl reaches adolescence, stones are heated in a pit near her home, covered with dirt, and carpeted with brush, grass and leaves. A temporary brush shelter is built over the pit and the girl lays on the covered rocks for the next four days. Before this however, she is bathed in suds made from yucca roots, her body painted red and her face brown. During the four days she must eat and drink sparingly must not eat meat, and must use a stick to scratch herself. She must run to the east before sunrise on each of the four days. It is believed 522 that girls who eat meat before the menses end will be barren.

564 Some of the old methods of training the young have disappeared, 1178 yet while children are young they are taught by precept. The father or parental grandfather is the proper guide and instructor for a boy. 568 Success in hunting depends more on personal skill than on charms and careful instruction is given to the boy. Boys practice marksmanship on rabbits, quail, and other small game before they are taken on a deer hunt.

Small girls help their mothers with the household duties around the camp, accompany them to the fields to gather corn and vegetables, to the orchards to gather fruit, and assist with the care of smaller brothers and sisters. 582 Mothers usually watch their adolescent daughters very closely and do not allow them to go about alone.

517 In summer after the crops are planted and again during the harvest the Havasupai have some leisure time in which to engage in their favorite pastimes. Men gather at the sweat lodges to gossip, or visit a neighbor and help him rub and stretch buckskin, play games of chance, race horses, tell stories, or plan a trip to the Hopi or Hualapai reservations to trade. Women gather at a neighbor's camp and weave baskets, prepare the material for basketry, or even shell corn. In midday 528 the women and young men are usually at their gambling, and, at least during the summer, the older men are at the sweat lodge.

545 These lodges are dome-shaped structures about six-feet in diameter and four to five feet high, set over a circular pit a foot deep. The frame is covered with brush or thatch. The dirt floor is usually covered with grass or leaves, except for a space to the left of the entrance where the stones are placed. They are heated in a fire nearby and carried in with green wood tongs.

515 The sweat lodge serves as a sort of clubhouse for the men. During 517 the hot midday it is customary for the men to rest, the sweating proving very refreshing. Some lodges are located on the banks of the creek; others some distance away. Several men may be found during the heat of the day, lying on the sand near the lodge, stripped to breech cloth, awaiting their turn to enter. Women occasionally accompany their husbands, but such are considered family affairs, especially when they take the children.

It is the custom for a man to go into the lodge four times during the afternoon. Usually four go in together, but the number is not fixed. The space would hardly accomodate more. The host or leader sits at the rear with a basin of water nearby. It is very dark inside and the heat is intense. Suddenly he bursts into a song; if the others wish 533 they may join him. They stay from about ten minutes to an hour, and just before they emerge the leader sprinkles water on the rocks producing heavy steam. If the lodge is located on the banks of the creek,

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when the bathers come out they plunge into the stream, or lie on the sand and rest until their turn again. 515 517

Horse racing is patterned after foot racing of former times. The race is to a point and return. Considerable attention is given to the preparation of the course on which the race is to be held, also to the selection of horses. Races are usually for stakes and on special occasions, as the Peach Dance, a purse is offered the winner. The horsemen do not jockey for a start, but start from stand-still. 541 525

Men and boys often hold wrestling contests. The contestants approach each other in a slightly crouching position and lock their arms around each other's body. Kicking and striking are not permitted. The winner must be able to hold his man flat on the ground. 526

The Havasupai children are expert swimmers, often learning the art very young. Mothers toss the small children in the creek of deep water and in almost no time they paddle their way to the bank, one would hardly say they are taught to paddle for it seems to come instinctively. 848 481

As canyon climbers the Havasupai probably surpass all other tribes. Their muscles are developed by constant practice and they run up and down the steep canyon trails in a manner to excite the envy of our college athletes. 481 147

When an individual is very ill and it is feared that he may die, relatives gather and begin to wail. A corpse is laid with the head to the northwest, the hair washed in yucca suds, and the face painted. Clothes are usually furnished by friends and relatives. The following day every one gathers to mourn with the family. The chiefs talk of the past life of the deceased and admonish the relatives to care for the property of the deceased and not to commit suicide. Formerly the Havasupai cremated their dead but now they are buried. Each family has a burial plot. When death occurs in a house the family moves out for a few months. Personal possessions are buried. In recent years the custom of burning personal treasures has not been as universal as formerly. 763 764 523 768

RELIGION

The Havasupai creation myth and other legends are very similar to those of the Mohave and Yuma Indians living along the Colorado River. 771 773

In the Beginning there were two gods of the Universe. Tochopa was a good god and Hokomata was very bad. The good god had a very beautiful daughter, Ter,keh-eh,(1) from whom he hoped would descend the whole human race to inhabit the big world. The wicked god seemed to possess the most magical power and to demonstrate it he proudly boasted he would flood the world and destroy all creation. The good god, Tochopa, fearing he would do this, made a boat of hollow pifion log in which he hoped to save his daughter. In this log he placed necessary food and other articles and also made a lookout window. Then he brought his daughter, and telling her she must get in the log and there be sealed up, he took a sad farewell of her, closed up the end of the log and waited for the destruction of the world. It was not long before the floods began to descend. Not rain, but cataracts, rivers, and deluges came covering all the earth with water. The log floated and in safety lay Pu-keh-eh while the water rose higher and higher covering all the mountains. After a while the flood ceased and the water found a way to rush into the sea. As it dashed down it cut through rocky plateaus and made the deep canyons of the Colorado River. Soon all the water was gone and the earth began to dry. The girl found her log no longer floating. She peeped out of the window her father had placed in her boat, and, though it was misty and 539

(1) Sources of mythology here given are a Havasupai informant; Parish, History of Arizona; and The Redman, a bulletin of mythology printed at the Phoenix Indian School. 115 121

539 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the moun-
773 tains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-kah-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-kah-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife, but she was the wife of another.He finally called upon Hokomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hokomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the house of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place
773 in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."(1)
Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

775 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death,
777 but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may
781 appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only shamans see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give
778 account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be
775 forebearers of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
789 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 378.

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after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. 778 [768]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. 776 [756] [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localised. 776

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. [754]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially Pagiyoga, who draws souls into the sky, and Pagiyova, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. 781 [75] [754]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. 754 [948]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. [797] [925]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone.

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sticks out the 755 756

755 disease which he exhibits to the crowd that gathers to help sing the evil
766 spirits out of the sick.

If a shaman does not have success in curing a patient another may be called and both work at the same time. Calling in a second does not arouse professional jealousy or cause ill feeling between them. One may sing a few nights, then the other.

756 In former times an unsuccessful shaman, and particularly one who
686 had failed for a long time, might be killed by a close relative of the patient who died.

The peach Dance is the one general dance of the year and is per-
527 formed in the early fall at the end of August or the beginning of Sept-
535 ember and occupies two or three days and nights. To some extent it is a prayer for rain and prosperity, but the social side predominates. At
782 this time Hualapai, Hopi, and Navaho visitors come to share the abun-
64 dance and to trade. The several days festivities furnish the principal diversion of the year.

527 The dance ground is cleared by men and boys who pile the brush about the edges making a sort of enclosure. People begin to arrive in the early afternoon, the men smoke, the younger Indians play games; the women not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast gossip and soothe restless babies. By mid-afternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few very old women or those who are sick, arrive. The chief directs a place cleared to receive the food, arranges so the men may eat, and distributes the remainder of the food among the women and children. At the conclusion of the feast, the chiefs address moral discourses to the women and children and urge all present to take part in the dance and festivities. By the time the chiefs have finished their speeches the heat of the day has abated and the dancing commences.

535 A pole is put up in the center of the dance ground, the drummer and song leader stands facing the pole. He wears a fox or coyote skin hanging from the bag of his belt; the upper part of his face, painted brown, resembles a mask. The dancers form a circle, join hands and stand while singing the phrases several times until every one gets the
535 rhythm, then they begin dancing with a short, shuffling side step. The drummer and song leader usually stands inside the circle and beats time, one drum beat marks each step. The dance continues until the circle has returned to its initial position several times. Then there is a brief intermission and the dancers change positions. During each
527 intermission the chiefs harangue the crowd and urge them to dance. Generally the dancing does not become spirited until after two or three hours. At times as many as fifty people are dancing. Young children often take part and catch the rhythm immediately.

527 As the dance continues, a masked man makes his appearance from
535 the bushes. He is nude except for the breech cloth. His body is painted
626 in black and white horizontal stripes. A white cloth mask is worn over his head and drawn in about the neck, having sticks, to which feathers are attached, fixed like horns. Round mouth and eye holes are cut and marked on the face. In his hands he carries willow branches. He looks over the crowd seated in groups on the ground and picks out some one and compels him to join the circle and dance, thus conveying the idea that it is the duty of the Havasupai to dance and offer thanks for the bountiful crops. This masked figure also goes through a pantomime of shooting the crowd with a gun and pretends fear of them, all in a clownish manner. His function at every dance is to urge and whip the laggards and frighten them so they will dance.

527 The first two nights, the celebration usually breaks up about mid-
535 night. The third and last night, the dancing continues until dawn. During the day the men and boys play games, practice wrestling, and run horse races while the women and girls prepare and cook food for
64 the feast held each day about sunset. The last day is usually spent in
64 horse racing with the Hopi and Navaho.